

goal is simply not true. My friends on the right call for a colorblind society and then quote Martin Luther King's inspirational "I have a dream" speech, in which he imagined a nation in which every American would be judged not on the color of his or her skin but on the "content of his character." All too often, though, they neglect to quote the end of his speech, where he describes the painful plight of minority America: "The Negro," King said, "lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity."

Much has changed in the 30 years since King stood on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. Minority enterprises have begun to gain a foothold, although there are far too few of them. But can anyone venture to the crumbling brick and mortar of Cabrini Green Public Housing, or the fear-ridden projects of Bed-Stuy or the streets lined with the unemployed in South Central LA or East St. Louis and believe that what he sees there today would pass as progress since Dr. King's day?

This is not to negate the gains made by so many in the black and minority communities. But for large numbers the situation has not only not improved in 30 years, it has grown dramatically worse—with a welfare system that entraps rather than empowers, punishes work and marriage and prevents access to capital, credit and property.

Reality requires that we admit two things—difficult admissions for both liberals and conservatives. First, that a race-conscious policy of quotas and rigid preferences has helped make matters worse. Second, and more important, the Good Shepherd reminds all of us that our work is not done, and as we think about moving into the 21st century, we must not leave anyone behind.

Sound policy begins with strong principles. Affirmative action based on quotas is wrong—wrong because it is antithetical to the genius of the American idea: individual liberty. Counting by race in order to remedy past wrongs or rewarding special groups by taking from others perpetuates and even deepens the divisions between us. But race-based politics is even more wrong and must be repudiated by men and women of civility and compassion.

Instead, like the "radical Republicans" of Lincoln's day, who overrode President Johnson's veto on the Freedman's Bureau, we would honor the past by creating a future more in keeping with our revolutionary founding ideals of equality. In this way, the eventual ending of affirmative action is only a beginning—the political predicate of a new promise of outreach in the name of greater opportunity for access to capital, credit, prosperity, jobs and educational choice for all.

The time has definitely come for a new approach an "affirmative action" based not just on gender or race or ethnicity but ultimately based on need. "Affirmative" because government authority must be employed to remove the obstacles to upward mobility and human advancement. "Action" because democratic societies must act positively and create real equality of opportunity—without promising equality of reward.

Affirmative opportunity in America begins with education. America's schools, particularly our urban public schools, are depriving minority and low-income children of the education that may be their passport out of poverty. Even the poorest parent must have the option more affluent families enjoy; the right to send their children to the school of their choice. Affirmative effort means ending the educational monopoly that makes poor public school students into pawns of the educational bureaucracy. And we should be paving the way to a voucher and magnet school system of public and private school choice.

Opportunity means an entryway into the job market. That means removing barriers for job creation and entrepreneurship and expanding access to capital and credit. According to the Wall Street Journal, from 1982 to 1987, the number of black-owned firms increased by nearly 38 percent, about triple the overall business growth rate during that period. Hispanic-owned businesses soared by 57 percent, and their sales nearly tripled.

Even so, of the 14 million small businesses in existence across the United States today, fewer than 2 percent are black-owned. And of \$27 to \$28 trillion of capital in this country, less than one percent is in black ownership. Affirmative effort would take aim at expanding capital and credit as the lifeblood of business formation and job creation—including an aggressive effort to end the red-lining of our inner cities and a radical redesign of our tax code to remove barriers to broader ownership of capital, savings and credit.

Opportunity means the ability to accumulate property. Affirmative effort would mean an end to every federal program that penalizes the poor for managing to save and accumulate their own assets. An AFDC mother's thrift and foresight in putting money away for a child's future should not be penalized by the government welfare system as fraud as is currently the case.

Finally, real opportunity for racial and ethnic reconciliation requires an expanding economy—one that invites the effort and enterprise of all Americans, including minorities and women. A real pro-growth policy must include policies ranging from enterprise zones in our cities to a commitment to lowering barriers to global trade. It should also offer relief from red tape and regulation and freedom from punitive tax policies. Each is part of an affirmative action that can "move America forward without leaving anyone behind."

Now that we have opened a somewhat hysterical dialogue on affirmative action, we can never go back—only forward. Our challenge is to put aside the past—abandon the endless round of recrimination and a politics that feeds on division, exclusion, anger and envy. We must reaffirm, as Lincoln did at his moment of maximum crisis, a vision of the "better angels of our nature," a big-hearted view of the nation we were always meant to become and must become if we are to enter the 21st century as the model of liberal democracy and market-oriented capitalism the world needs to see.●

#### MARITIME SECURITY ACT

● Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I rise as an original cosponsor and strong supporter of the Maritime Security Act of 1995. Mr. President, I support this legislation because I believe we need a strong U.S. merchant fleet for our military security and our economic competitiveness.

This legislation creates a Maritime Security Program to retain an active, privately owned U.S.-flag and U.S.-crewed vessel presence in our Nation's foreign commerce and military security.

In times of national emergency, there is no substitute for a strong U.S. merchant fleet. A number of times during the gulf war, foreign-flag ships refused to sail into the war zone. That never happened with a U.S.-flag ship. Our civilian merchant mariners have always been there for us in a national crisis. They have been patriots—reli-

able, consistent, and faithful. Without Americans manning the supply ships, we cannot guarantee that the U.S. military will be able to do its job.

Without some form of Government action, the United States will be forced to be almost totally reliant on foreign-flag vessels for international transportation and military sealift. Some say it is OK to rely on the good will of foreigners. But if we put our military materials under a foreign flag, then they would have command over the supplies necessary to back our troops.

We also need a U.S.-flag merchant marine to preserve our historic presence as a global economic power moving goods on the high seas. Most of all, we need American men and women to run those ships. This legislation is the most cost-effective way of guaranteeing that the merchant marine is there when we need it.

It is no secret that threats to national security are increasingly waged in the economic sphere. We are constantly hearing of predatory practices, dumping, and poaching. Without a U.S. presence on the high seas, who is to say that U.S. goods would not be victimized by foreign shipping companies loyal to the commercial interests in their own countries. Higher rates? Slower delivery? I think it is possible.

Finally, I believe in public sector-private sector cooperation to encourage Government savings. This program gives a lot of bang for a buck. It provides a service to the Department of Defense for less than if they did it in house. It also guarantees a loyalty that would not be there if they went foreign.

Mr. President, this legislation is smart, it is strategic, and it makes sense. I wholeheartedly endorse this bill and I stand by our merchant mariners who never gave up the ship.●

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, are we in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are.

#### THE 2-YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF THE LARGEST TAX INCREASE IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I had intended to make this statement yesterday. We were so busy until about 11:30 last night that I did not have the opportunity. But I did not want the 2-year anniversary of the largest tax increase in American history to go by unnoticed. That 2-year anniversary was August 10. That is the date that the largest tax increase in history was signed into law by President Clinton. The increase had been passed over the "no" votes of every Republican in the House and Senate.

While they may be celebrating this anniversary down at the White House, a quick look at what occurred these past 2 years makes it clear that there